

Grammaticalization paths for spatial adpositions in Hungarian

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1. Introduction

Two big projects in Budapest and my (relatively new) postdoc project

- „Comprehensive Grammar Resources: Hungarian” (OTKA/NKFIH No. 100804 and 120073)
- „Generative Diachronic Syntax of Hungarian 1 & 2” (OTKA/NKFIH No. 78074 and 112057)
- my postdoctoral grant „Where is the Result? Decomposing the argument structure of Hungarian resultatives and motion predicates” (NKFI PD 121386).

Topics

- grammaticalization of adpositions and the P-cycle: postpositions, case suffixes, particles
- word order of verb and verb modifiers in earlier stages of the language
- synchronic: PPs, copular clauses, secondary predicates, complex events

2. PPs in Hungarian synchronically: A brief overview

Adpositions in Hungarian

- postpositions (and prepositions to some extent)
- case markers
- particles
- adverbs

Two types of postpositions

- case-like

(1) a híd alatt
the bridge under.at
'under the bridge'

(2) (én) alatt-am
I under.at-1SG
'under me'

- case-assigning

(3) a fá-*(hoz) közel
the tree-ALL close.to
'close to the tree'

(4) (én) hozz-ám közel
I ALL-1SG close.to
'close to me'

- Case-like Ps are often in triplets

(5) a. a ház előtt
the house front.at
'in front of the house'

b. a ház elé
the house front.to
'(to) in front of the house'

c. a ház elől
the house front.from
'(from) in front of the house'

Oblique case suffixes

(6) spatial

a. a kert-ben
the garden-INE
'in the garden'

b. a kert-be
the garden-ILL
'into the garden'

c. a kert-ből
the garden-ELA
'from/out of the garden'

(7) other

Mari-val
Mary-INS
'with Mary'

Particles

(8) a. A labda be-gurult az ágy alá.
the ball into-rolled the bed under.to
'The ball rolled under the bed.'

b. János meg-találta a labdát.
John MEG-found the ball-ACC
'John found the ball.'

(9) Mari át-jött.
Mary over-came
'Mary came over (to our place).'

Adverbs

- (10) A labda bent van (a kapu-ban).
the ball inside is (the goal-INE)
'The ball is in (the goal).'

Note: the syntax of particles

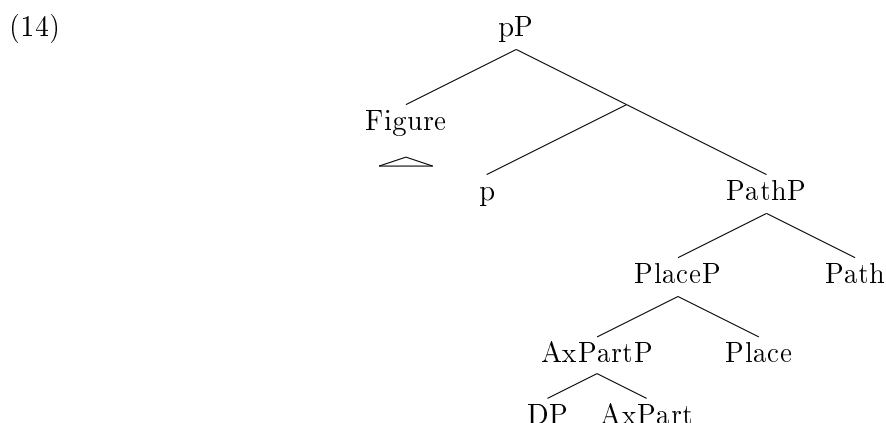
- particles are separable; they are immediately preverbal in so-called neutral sentences
- particles are (mostly) inserted in a PP under V as secondary predicates (but see Hegedűs & D  k  ny 2017 for some exceptions), they introduce internal arguments (  . Kiss 2006, Sur  nyi 2009), e.g. (11)
- they move to the preverbal position via a phrasal movement to create complex predicates (e.g.   . Kiss 2006), this may be disrupted by further movements (e.g. negation, (12))

- (11) Jutka   t-  szta a foly  -t.
Judith across-swam the river-ACC
'Judith swam across the river.'
- (12) J  nos nem tal  lta meg a labd  -t.
John not found PRT the ball-ACC
'John didn't find the ball.'

3. The structure of PPs

- I assume the following structure for PPs (see also Van Riemsdijk 1990; Svenonius 2003, 2010; Koopman 2000; Den Dikken 2010 etc.; about Hungarian: Asbury 2008, Asbury et al 2007; D  k  ny 2011; Hegedűs 2006, 2013, D  k  ny & Hegedűs 2015 a.o.)¹

- (13) $pP > \text{PathP} > \text{PlaceP} > \text{AxPartP} > \text{DP}$



- p : functional adposition, its specifier hosts the Figure

¹D  k  ny & Hegedűs (2015) actually assume a slightly larger structure with an additional functional layer for an 'escape hatch' on the top in order to derive all word order variation and extraction possibilities.

- Path is above Place (semantically built on it; also cross-linguistic morphological order)

- (15)
- a. a kert-en át
the garden-SUP over
'across the garden'
 - b. elalvás előtt-re
falling.asleep before.at-SUB
'for (the time) before going to sleep'
 - c. a ház mögött-re
the house behind.at-SUB
to (the area) behind the house'

- AxPart: has both nominal and adpositional properties

4. Grammaticalization paths

4.1. Grammaticalization from possessives

- Proto-Hungarian: various case-marked possessee nouns began to grammaticalize into postpositions
- The original structure was the one in (16):

(16) Possessor + Possessee + spatial CASE (locative: *-t/-n*; goal: *-á/-é*; surce: *-l*)

(17) ez homus vilag timnuce-bel-e-ul
this false world prison.cell.POSS-inside-POSS-ABL
'out of the prison cell of this insincere world' (Funeral Sermon and Prayer, cca. 1195)

Old Hungarian possessive+directional case

(18) a kenyér bel-e
the bread inside-POSS
the inside of a loaf' Modern Hungarian possessive

4.1.1. Grammaticalization from possessives - Step 1

- Certain relational nouns, e.g. *top*, *bottom*, *side*, *front*, *back*, *gut*, *chest* etc. (Svenonius 2006: „axial parts”), were losing their nominal properties (Hegedus 2015)
- in Old Hungarian: dative + some possessive marking are still possible (Zsilinszky 1991)

(19) a. zemey elewt
eye-POSS.3SG-PL front.at
'in front of his eyes' (Jókai Codex 121, 1372/1448)

- b. baratok-nak elewtt-e
 brothers-DAT front.at-POSS
 ‘in front of (the) brothers’ (Jókai C. 84)
- (20) Possessor + Possessee + CASE
 ↓ ↓
 Ground + [AxialPart + CASE]
- (21) vilag-bel-e
 world-inside-into
 ‘into (the) world’ (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)
- (22) paris-bal-ol
 Paris-inside-ABL
 from Paris Old Hungarian (Jókai C. 28)

4.1.2. Grammaticalization from possessives - Step 2

- The [AxialPart + CASE] was reanalyzed into a monomorphemic P; the original possessor is the Ground complement of the new P (see Lehmann 2015 [1995])

- (23) az lang-bol
 the flame-ELA
 ‘out of the flame’ (Jókai Cod. 43)
- (24) a. uromc scine eleut
 Lord.POSS.1PL face.POSS front.at
 ‘before our Lord’
 (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)
- b. nekyk elue
 DAT.3PL before.to
 ‘(to) before them’ (Jókai C. 21)
- c. o orcaioc elol
 they face-POSS.3PL before.from
 ‘from before their faces’ (Vienna C. 32, 1416/1450)

4.1.3. Grammaticalization from possessives - Step 3

- In some cases the morphologically independent P was reanalyzed as a bound case suffix (monosyllabic; these exhibit vowel harmony)

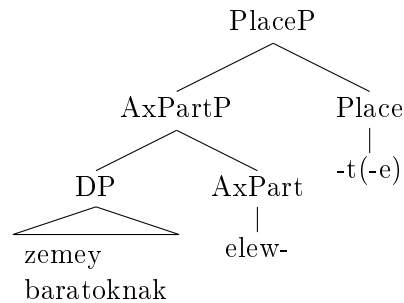
- (25) paradisum-ben
 Paradise-INE
 ‘in Paradise’ (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)
- (26) ez vilag-bol
 this world-ELA
 ‘from this world’ (Jókai C. 62)

4.2. Grammaticalization path (Hegedűs 2015)

- (27) a. zemey elewt
 eye-POSS.3SG-PL front.at

- ‘in front of his eyes’ (Jókai C. 121)
- b. baratok-nak elewtt-e
 brothers-DAT front.at-POSS
 ‘in front of (the) brothers’ (Jókai C. 84)

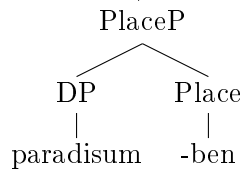
(28)



(29)

- a. paradisum-ben
 Paradise-in
 ‘in Paradise’ (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)

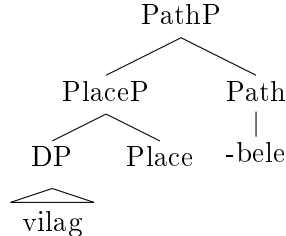
b.



(30)

- a. vilagbele
 world-into
 ‘into (the) world’ (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)

b.



- this is part of the P-cycle (Waters 2009; e.g. *in front of*, *outside* etc.): Ps grammaticalize, later the lower head may be filled again (see below)
- Roberts and Roussou (2003): P elements completely grammaticalize when they lose their spatial meaning

New case-like postpositions from possessive structures

- normally, case-like Ps are perceived by speakers as monomorphemic; they do not contain possessive marking any more
- a few case-like Ps still have a transparent possessive structure: base + possessive marking + oblique case
- these are still complex adpositions, with AxPart and Place/Path filled (Hegedűs & Dékány 2016)

e.g. *számára*, *részére*: ‘for’ – these are not spatial

- (31) X szám-á-ra, X rész-é-re
 X number-POSS-SUB, X part-POSS-SUB
 both: ‘for X’
- (32) én szám-om-ra, ti szám-otok-ra
 I number-POSS.1SG-SUB you.pl number-POSS.2PL-SUB
 ‘for me, for you(pl)’
- (33) én rész-em-re, ti rész-etek-re
 I part-POSS.1SG-SUB you.pl part-POSS.2PL-SUB
 ‘for me, for you(pl)’

cf. the old ones:

- (34) én fel-ett-em
 I top-LOC-POSS.1SG
 ‘above me’

e.g. *helyében*: ‘in X’s shoes/place’ – spatial origin

- (35) X hely-é-ben
 X place-POSS-INE
 ‘in X’s place/shoes’
- (36) én hely-em-ben, ti hely-etek-ben
 I place-POSS.1SG-INE you.pl place-POSS.2PL-INE
 ‘in my shoes, in your(pl) shoes’

- still transparent possessive structures, but behave a bit differently

- (37) a. János hely-é-ben nem tenném ezt.
 John place-POSS-INE not do.COND.1SG this.ACC
 ‘In John’s place/if I were John, I wouldn’t do this.
- b. ?János-nak a hely-é-ben nem tenném ezt.
 John-DAT the place-POSS-INE not do.COND.1SG this.ACC
 ‘In John’s place/if I were John, I wouldn’t do this.
- c. *János-nak nem tenném ezt a hely-é-ben.
 John-DAT not do.COND.1SG this.ACC the place-POSS-INE
 ‘In John’s place/if I were John, I wouldn’t do this.

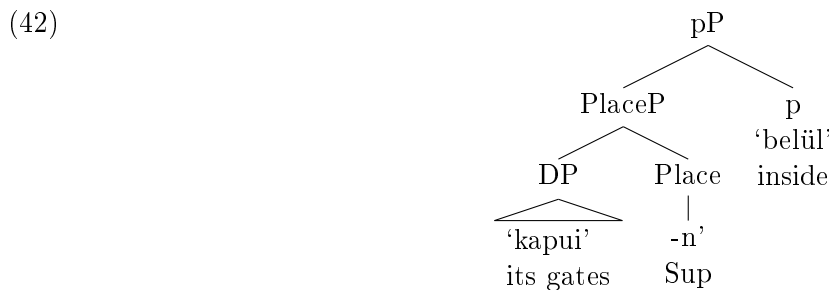
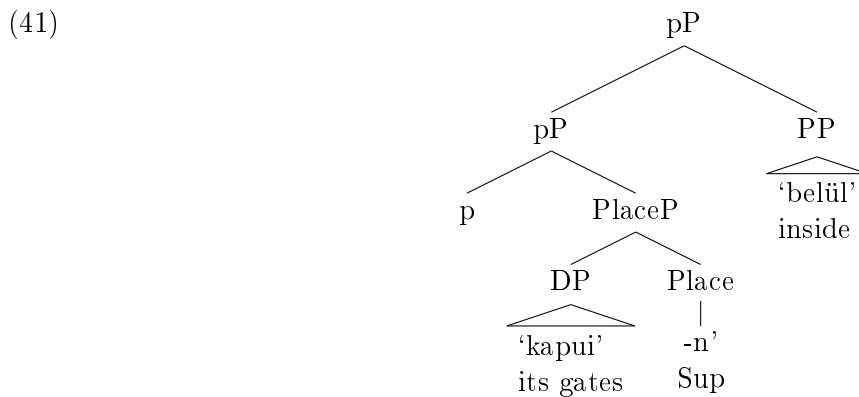
4.3. Grammaticalization from adjuncts

- a PP with a case suffix can be modified by an appositive (locative or directional) PP adjunct containing only a free-standing adposition
 → loose relationship between the adposition and the case marked DP

- (38) fy-al usve
 son.INS together
 together with (her) son’
 (Königsberg Fragment, cca. 1350)
- (39) az udvar-on kint
 the yard-SUP outside
 ‘outside in the yard’

- an adjunct can grammaticalize into a head on the main projection line in line with Van Gelderen's (2004) Head Preference Principle
- proposal: some adpositions adjoined to pP/PathP were reanalyzed as a head on the main projection line: as the p/Path head itself
- the original adjunct then takes the case marked noun phrase (a PP) as its complement, a very local relationship → this resulted in complex adpositional phrases
- Old Hungarian has very few such postpositions, many of them emerged in the Middle Hungarian period (1526-1772) or later

(40) èn varos-om-nac kapu-i-n bëlöl
 I city-POSS.1SG-DAT gate-POSS.PL-SUP inside
 lit. 'within the gates of my city' (Vienna C. 7)



New Ps in adjunction structures?

- Even the older ones are not that old (they are secondary to the grammaticalization of case suffixes)
- No new complex Ps from adjunctions?
- Harder to see the change?

4.4. Prepositions from postpositions

- In Old Hungarian and Middle Hungarian all case assigning adpositions are postpositions.
- In Modern Hungarian some case-assigning Ps can also be prepositional in soem contexts.

- This correlates with their extractability and their use as particles (Dékány & Hegedűs 2015)

(43) a fal-on át (44) át a fal-on
 the wall-SUP through through the wall-SUP
 ‘through the wall’ ‘through the wall’

(45) Át a híd-on a kocsikkal!
 across the bridge-sup the cars-instr
 ‘Across the bridge with the cars!’

pP: headedness

- pP is changing from a head-final to a head-initial projection (Dékány & Hegedűs 2015), Place/PathP are head-final, pP is head-initial
- Interestingly this is the opposite of German ‘circumpositions’, where the *p* head has been argued to be head final (Van Riemsdijk 1990, 1998)
- This is possibly a late follow-up of the large scale head-last to head-first change on the clausal and the phrasal level that happened in OH and MidH (É. Kiss 2014)
- The new configuration (head-initial pP, head-final Path/PlaceP) obeys the Final-over-Final Condition of Biberauer et al (2015)

5. Grammaticalization of particles

- particles are generated in *p* in the extended structure

(46) $pP > PathP > PlaceP > AxPartP > DP$

- the oldest particles are: *meg* ‘orig. back, now only telicizer’, *el* ‘away’, *be* ‘into’, *ki* ‘out’, *fel* ‘up’, *le* down’
- old particles are monomorphemic; we can’t see their grammaticalization only their semantic bleaching to some extent

(47) Es fèlèlèt véuèn almocban hog ne mennenèc meg herodèshéz
 and reply taken dream-POSS.3PL-INE that not go.COND-3PL back Herod.to
 ‘And being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod’
 (Munich C. 9ra, 1466)

(48) Tahat meg-haga ɔtèt az ɔrdog
 then PRT-left him the devil
 ‘Then the devil leaveth him’ (Munich C. 10ra)

(49) Ottan el-hagya hewtet az erdeg
 there away-left him the devil
 ‘Then the devil leaveth him’ (Jordánszky C. 363, 1516-19)

- *meg* is the only one that has no productive spatial use in Modern Hungarian

- (50) a. meg-ad
back-give
give back (e.g. loan)'
b. meg-jön
PRT-come
'arrive'

New particles from case marked DPs

- newer particles are more transparently complex

- (51) a. [_{PathP} [_{DP} hát] -ra]
back onto 'behind'
b. [_{PathP} [_{DP} fél] -re]
side onto 'aside, mis-V'
c. [_{PathP} [_{DP} vég] -be]
end into complete'

agyon 'to death / to exhaustion' is one of the newest particles (D. Máta 2007); speakers still perceive it as having an N+CASE internal structure, but the meaning is bleached (Hegedűs & Dékány 2015)

- (52) agy-on ver valaki-t
brain-SUP beat somebody-ACC
'hit somebody on the head'
(53) agy-on-ver valaki-t
brain-SUP-beat somebody-ACC
'beat somebody to death'
(54) agy-on-dicsér valaki-t
brain-SUP-praise somebody-ACC
'praise somebody to the skies / heap praises on somebody'

Note: morphologically it is locative (with a superessive case); interestingly in some cases, we find it with a sublative suffix added in its particle use:

- (55) Ezt már agyon-ra ismételték.
this.ACC already to.death-SUB repeated
'This has been repeated to death.'

bele 'into', *rá* 'onto', *hozzá* 'to', *neki* 'to' → they are more complex: have agreement morphology (cf. Ürögdi 2003, Surányi 2009, Rákosi & Laczkó 2011 a.o.)

- (56) a. János rá-lépett a lábam-ra.
John onto(.3SG)-stepped the foot.POSS.1SG-SUB
'John stepped on my foot'
b. Az autó neki-ment a fal-nak.
the car to(.3SG)-went the wall-DAT
'The car drove into the wall.'
(57) a. János csak RÁ-D nézett rá-d.
John only SUB-2SG looked SUB-2SG
'John only looked at YOU.'

- b. Az a magas férfi csak NEK-EM jött nekem.
 that the tall man only DAT-1SG came DAT-1SG
 That tall man only bumped into ME.'

- earliest possible examples are from 16-18th c., but they could have been adjunction structures too

- (58) nek-i megyen a Fatens-nek
 dat-3SG go.3SG the witness-DAT
 'he attacks (lit. goes to) the witness
 (Witch trial 59, before 1712)
- (59) Es rea tekeenthe wr Isten gedeon vytez-re
 and onto looked.3sg Lord God Gideon soldier-sub
 'and the Lord glanced upon Gideon the valiant' (Jordánszky Codex 329, 1516–1519)

6. Lexicalizing p/Path: complex events

- Hungarian is a strong (or strict) satellite-framed language (see also Acedo-Matellán 2016)
- secondary predicates are all expressed with an adpositional element (Hegedűs 2013):
 sublative/translative suffix; adverbial suffix; dative suffix

- (60) a. János zöld-re festette az ajtó-t.
 John green-SUB painted the door-ACC
 'John painted the door green.'
 b. János le-festette az ajtó-t.
 John down-painted the door-ACC
 'John painted the door.'

- (61) A vihar ijesztő-vé vált.
 the storm scary-TRANS turn
 The storm turned scary.'

- (62) János FEKETÉ-N issza a kávé-t.
 John black-ADV drink the coffee-ACC
 'John drinks coffee black.'

- (63) Péter okos-nak tartja Marit.
 Peter clever-DAT consider Mary.ACC
 'Peter considers Mary clever.'

- generally cross-linguistically telic verbs require a particle in Hungarian, e.g. achievement verbs

- (64) a. A váza el-tört.
 the vase away-broke
 The vase broke.'
 b. A főszereplő meg-halt.
 the main.character PRT-died
 The main character died.'

- decomposing argument structure below V (Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002; Borer 2005, Ramchand 2008 etc.)

(65) $[_{VP} [V [_{PP} \text{INT-ARG} [P [N]]]]]]$

- Does P incorporate into V (in the sense of Hale & Keyser; not necessarily via movement)? Put differently: can the verb lexicalize P+V? (Mateu 2012)
- N to P to V incorporation is also possible (again, not necessarily via movement), e.g. Hale & Keyser (2002) analyze denominal verbs like *saddle (the horse)*, *box (the books)* that way.
- Hungarian is a more strictly satellite-framed language than English: incorporation of result does not seem to be an option at all
- this general inability to express result/goal has been formulated by É. Kiss (2006) as a lexical/semantic property of Hungarian verbs, which are said to be inherently atelic and in need of another telicizer to express events that have an end-point (an observation made in various places)
- Proposal in my PD project: it is a structural property, V does not incorporate/lexicalize P in a decomposed structure, there is no N to P to V incorporation either
- in an extended PP structure, a *p* or a Path head has to be lexicalized under V
- decomposing the PP in the complement of V, makes it possible to further distinguish particles (*p*) and other P heads structurally

(66) $[_{VP} [V [_{pP} \text{INT-ARG} [p [_{PathP} \text{Path PlaceP}]]]]]]$

- variation may occur in the optionality of *p* when the Path is filled; this variation is related to movement to *p* and possible grammaticalization, i.e., merger in the higher head)

7. Conclusions

- case-like Ps grammaticalized in possessive constructions with a directional case marker; some case-like Ps then grammaticalized into case markers (became completely bound morphemes)
- case-assigning Ps grammaticalized from adjuncts to case marked noun phrases
- particles grammaticalize from Path-denoting Ps (that were more complex originally)
- there is a strong tendency to fill the *p* head in complex events
- Hungarian is a strong s-framed language: *p* has to be lexicalized separately from V

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